

Message Text

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TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, PINT, IT

SUBJECT: LOMBARDY REGION "OPEN GIUNTA" FALLS

1. LOMBARDY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE (GIUNTA), DC-PSI-PSDI-PRI COALITION FORMED IN WAKE OF JUNE 15, 1975 GAINS ON LEFT AND DISTINGUISHED BY AGREEMENT AMONG PARTNERS TO CONSULT WITH PCI OVER DECISIONS TAKEN, WAS DISSOLVED OCTOBER 5 BY REGIONAL PRESIDENT CESARE GOLFARI (DC). FALL OF GIUNTA WAS PRECIPITATED BY REFUSAL OF REPUBLICAN CONTINGENT LED BY DEPUTY PIETRO BUCALOSSI TO ATTEND MEETING OF GIUNTA MEMBERS (TO DISCUSS RESHUFFLING OF ASSESSORE POSITION'S AND OVERALL PROGRAM FOR YEAR) TO WHICH PCI WAS INVITED AS WELL. GOLFARI TOLD PRESS HE HAD NO ALTERNATIVE UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES BUT TO RESIGN AND PUSH FOR NEW GIUNTA - PREFERABLY WITH SAME PARTIES - BUT WITH CLEARER NOTION OF HOW THEY WOULD COOPERATE. BUCALOSSI HAS TOLD US THAT GOLFARI, IN INVITING PCI TO SIT IN ON PRELIMINARY DELIBERATIONS WITH MAJORITY PARTIES, WENT BEYOND TERMS OF AGREEMENT PRI AGREED TO LAST YEAR AND, IN SO DOING, TOOK ANOTHER STEP TOWARD HISTORIC COMPROMISE THAT PRI COULD NOT COUNTENANCE.

2. HAVING SPOKEN WITH GOLFARI, GINO COLOMBO, DE CAROLIS AND BUCCALOSSI AS WELL AS GOLFARI'S PREDECESSOR PIERO BASSETTI, WE ARE UNDER IMPRESSION THAT PRI GROUP'S MOVE HAS MORE TO DO WITH
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NATIONAL PRI OPPOSITION TO DC-PCI RELATIONS THAN WITH DESIRE

TO REPLACE LOMBARDY GIUNTA WITH SOMETHING DIFFERENT. WHETHER BUCALOSSI ABSTAINED FROM FIVE-PARTY MEETING OUT OF CONVICTION THAT REPRESENTED UNACCEPTABLE MOVE TOWARD HISTORIC COMPROMISE OR WHETHER HE IS TAKING ADVANTAGE OF RELATIVELY INNOCUOUS INCIDENT, HE DOES APPEAR PRIMARILY BENT ON DRAMATIZING HIS DIFFERENCES WITH LA MALFA, WHO HAS CALLED HISTORIC COMPROMISE "INEVITABLE." BUCALOSSI, 71, IS MILAN CITY COUNCILLOR, FORMER MAYOR OF MILAN (1964-1967, AS PSDI), LONG-TIME DEPUTY (SINCE 1963), AND INTER-NATIONALLY KNOWN CANCER SPECIALIST. HIS COUP DE FORCE, AS HE HIMSELF ADMITS, IS OPPOSED BY PART OF HIS OWN PARTY IN REGION, INCLUDING ONE AND MAY BE BOTH PRI MEMBERS IN REGIONAL GIUNTA. HE IS SUPPORTED, HOWEVER, BY TWO CONSERVATIVE DC GIUNTA MEMBERS, ONE OF WHICH, GINO COLOMBO, WAS DEPRIVED OF SENATE SEAT IN JUNE VIA LAST MINUTE LIST SWITCH WIDELY BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN ENGINEERED BY GOLFARI AND HIS LEFT WING BASE FACTION ASSOCIATES (MILAN 1266).

3. GOLFARI HIMSELF HAS TOLD US THAT INCIDENT IS TEMPEST IN TEAPOT THAT WILL BE CLARED UP IN TWO WEEKS, PROVOKED BY BUCALOSSI TO DISTANCE HIMSELF FROM LA MALFA. GOLFARI INSISTS MEETING TO WHICH BUCALOSSI OBJECTED WAS ROUTINE, TECHNICAL LEVEL GATHERING WHICH GOLFARI HIMSELF HAD NOT EVEN PLANNED TO ATTEND AND FOR WHICH THERE WERE PRECEDENTS IN PAST. NOTHING, THEREFORE, HAD CHANGED. NO FURTHER STEP HAD BEEN TAKEN, GOLFARI GUARANTEED, TOWARD HISTORIC COMPROMISE. THOSE MOST WORRIED ABOUT OUTCOME OF ALL THIS WERE, IN FACT, COMMUNISTS THEMSELVES, WHO NOT ONLY WERE NOT DEMANDING MORE VISIBLE ROLE IN GIUNTA BUT WHO FEARED BEING PUT IN POSITION OF HAVING TO ACCEPT PCI-PSI COALITION (ALTERNATIVE OF LEFT). AS FOR INTERNAL DC OPPOSITION TO HIS OWN POSITION, GOLFARI SAID GINO COLOMBO AND GINO FERRARI HAD BEEN OUTVOTED 22-2 WITHIN DC GROUP AND WERE THUS ISOLATED MINORITY. SO GOLFARI CONSIDERED HE HAD MANDATE TO GO BACK AND FORM GINUTA WITH SAME PARTIES. GOLFARI NOTED THAT DC, PSI, AND PSDI COOULD STILL FORM GIUNTA WITHOUT PRI COLLABORATORS, AND HE PROMISED - SOMEWHAT CRYPTICALLY - THAT MATTERS WOULD BE CLEARER WHEN PRESENT CRISIS WAS RESOLVED.

4. GINO COLOMBO DENIED THAT MEETING WITH PCI WAS ROUTINE. RATHER IT WAS DEPARTURE URGED BY DE MARTINO SOCIALISTS AND CONFIDENTIAL

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UNWILLINGLY BOUGHT BY GOLFARI. ORIGINAL LOMBARDY FORMULA WAS DC-PSI-PSDI-PRI ALLIANCE FOR WHICH PCI SUPPORT NOT SOLICITED BUT GIVEN. EVEN ANDREOTTI DID NOT MEET WITH ALL PARTIES AT ONCE BUT BI-LATERALLY. IT WAS GOLFARI EFFORT TO PUT ALL PARTY LEADERS AOURND TABLE THAT CONSSTITUTED UNACCEPTABLE SHIFT TO PCI.

5. COLOMBO ASSURED US THAT PCI ABSOLUTELY NOT BEHIND MOVE.

RATHER, PSI LEFT INSISTED AND CRAXI SUPPORTERS, FEARING INTERNAL SPLIT, CAVED IN.

6. COLOMBO AGREED NEW GIUNTA WILL QUICKLY BE FORMED. HE WILL REMAIN IN ONLY IF GOLFARI AND PSI BACK TRACK DE FACTO. BUT HE FEELS THAT ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT IN SUCH PERIL THAT ZACCAGNINI WILL WANT LOMBARDY ISSUE PAPERED OVER AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

7. DE CAROLIS, FRESH FROM US, AGREED THAT GOLFARI WOULD QUICKLY SUCCEED BUT SEES NET RESULT AS SLIGHT SLIPPAGE TOWARD PCI.

8. NEWLY-ELECTED DC DEPUTY AND GOLFARI'S PRECEDESSOR, PIERO BASSETTI THOUGHT, AS USUAL, THAT THINGS WERE BIT MORE COMPLICATED THAN THAT. HE AGREED BUCALOSSI'S REASONS FOR CAUSING TROUBLE WERE INTERNAL TO PRI AND CONCERNED LA MALFA. BUT HE NOTED THAT PRI ON REGIONAL LEVEL MAY NOT SUPPORT BUCALOSSI. VITTORIO OLCESI, FOR EXAMPLE, PRI GROUP LEADER IN REGIONAL GOVERNMENT, WANTS MORE NOT LESS COOPERATION WITH PCI. (OLCESI, HE ADDED, IS CO-PROPRIETOR OF LEFTIST WEEKLY ESPRESSO.) FURTHERMORE, SAID BASSETTI, BEST THAT CAN BE DONE WITHOUT PRI JUST MIGHT BE DC ONE-PARTY GIUNTA. (INDRO) MONTANELLI FOLLOWERS AMONG ALL PARTIES (I.E., THOSE WITH LIBERAL, LAY BENT), MIGHT BE LOATHE TO CONTINUE COALITION WITHOUT REPUBLICANS. WITH REGARD TO ASTUTENESS OF GOLFARI'S BEHAVIOR IN CALLING MEETING WHOSE COMPOSITION HAD TOUCHED OFF CRISIS, BASSETTI ALLOWED THAT IT WAS PROBABLY UNINTENDED GAFFEE THAT BUCALOSSI HAS SEIZED ON FOR HIS OWN PURPOSES. BUT GIVEN SLOPPY WAY THESE MATTERS OFTEN HANDLED IN REGION, SAID THE FORMER REGIONAL PRESIDENT, SUCH A MISSTEP IS NOT SURPRISING.

9. CONVERSATION WITH BUCALOSSI HIMSELF REINFORCED CONTENTION OF OTHERS THAT HIS MOVE WAS MADE TO DRAMATIZE POINT RATHER CONFIDENTIAL

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THAN OUT OF HOPE THAT IT MIGHT STOP GOLFARI'S ALLEGED INDECENT RUSH TOWARD HISTORIC COMPROMISE. BUCALOSSI ADMITTED HIS INITIATIVE MIGHT WELL BE REPUDIATED BY PRI HERE AND SAID HE WAS PESSIMISTIC THAT PRESENT IMPASSE WOULD END WELL. MOREOVER, IN REMARKABLE SHOW OF UNCONCERN FOR CONSEQUENCES OF HIS PULLOUT LOCALLY, HE SAID HE REALLY DIDN'T KNOW WHETHER OTHER THREE COALITION PARTNERS HAD ENOUGH SEATS TO FORM GIUNTA WITHOUT PRI OR NOT (HE PHONED PRI HEADQUARTERS IN PRESENCE OF CONSULAR OFFICER AND FOUND THAT THEY DID). ASKED WHY HE HAD MADE MOVE THAT PRECIPITATED CRISIS, HE REPLIED THAT GOLFARI'S ATTEMPT TO INCLUDE PCI IN ELABORATION OF GIUNTA PROGRAM RIGHT FROM START WENT BEYOND AGREEMENT COALITION PARTIES HAD MADE. LATTER HAD AGREED ONLY TO CONSULT WITH PCI AFTER DECISIONS WERE TAKEN BY MAJORITY. (BUCALOSSI IMPLIED THAT COMMUNISTS WOULD, AT THAT POINT, BE ALLOWED TO MAKE SUGGESTIONS THAT MIGHT OR MIGHT

NOT BE ACCEPTED.) BUCALOSSI SAID HE WOULD NOT BE PARTY TO ANOTHER STEP FORWARD FOR COMMUNISTS, ALLOWING THEM FURTHER TO CONFUSE DISTINCTION BETWEEN MAJORITY AND OPPOSITION. ON POSSIBILITY OF LEFTIST ALTERNATIVE (PCI-PSI GIUNTA) AS ISSUE OF PRESENT CRISIS, BUCALOSSI (AND HERE GOLFARI AGREED WITH HIM) SAID COMMUNISTS DIDN'T WANT IT. THEY WOULD RATHER KEEP MATTERS UNSETTLED AND STAY ON ROAD TO HISTORIC COMPROMISE.

10. COMMENT. WHATEVER THE MOTIVES FOR BUCALOSSI'S ACTION ANDWHETHER OR NOT GOLFARI'S ILL-FATED FIVE-PARTY MEETING WAS AS SIGNIFICANT AS BUCALOSSI IS SAYING, FACT IS THAT LOMBARDY'S "OPEN" GIUNTA, WITH ITS PRECEDENT SETTING IMPACT ON NATIONAL SCENE, HAS FALLEN. GIVEN DETERMINATION LOCALLY OF SOCIALISTS, PSDI, COMMUNISTS, MOST OF DC (APPARENTLY), AND STRONG MINORITY OF REPUBLICANS TO KEEP IT GOING, WE EXPECT THAT IT WILL BE PUT BACK TOGETHER, THOUGH POSSIBLY WITHOUT REPUBLICANS. HOW IT IS PUT BACK TOGETHER AND WHAT HAPPENS THEN WILL TELL WHO CAME OUT ON TOP. IF PRI GOES BACK INTO GIUNTA AND OFFENSIVE FIVE-PARTY FRMAT IS DROPPED, REPUBLICANS WILL HAVE WON. BUT IF CONTRARY HAPPENS, COMMUNISTS WILL HAVE MOVED INCH OR TWO CLOSER TOWARD BLURRING DISTINCTION BETWEEN MAJORITY AND OPPOSITION--WITHOUT, APPARENTLY, HAVING LIFTED A FINGER IN THEIR OWN BEHALF. THAT WOULD BE SIGNIFICANT

DEMONSTRATION OF INDISPENSABILITY OF COMMUNISTS AT THIS POINT IN EVOLUTION OF LOCAL POLITICAL BALANCE.FINA
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